

Message Text

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TAGS: PFOR, UNGA, KS, KN, US

SUBJECT: 30TH UNGA - UNITED STATES SPEECH ON KOREAN QUESTION IN
UNGA FIRST COMMITTEE OCTOBER 23, 1975

ON OCTOBER 23, AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN DELIVERED
FOLLOWING SPEECH ON KOREAN QUESTION IN UNGA FIRST
COMMITTEE: QUOTE

THE CENTRAL ISSUE OF THIS DEBATE IS THE PEACE AND SECURITY
OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA. IT IS AN ISSUE WHICH HAS REQUIRED THE
ATTENTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS -- BOTH THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL -- FOR 27 YEARS. I REMIND THE COMMITTEE
THAT THIS ORGANIZATION HAS SOUGHT DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS TO
CONTRIBUTE TO THE REDUCTION OF TENSIONS ON THE PENINSULA BY
ENCOURAGING DISCUSSION AND CONTACTS BETWEEN THE TWO KOREAN
GOVERNMENTS. MY GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN
THIS EFFORT OF THE UNITED NATIONS BECAUSE WE RECOGNIZE THAT ANY
RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES ON THE PENINSULA COULD HAVE IMMEDIATE AND
SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE PEACE OF THE ENTIRE WORLD. WE
RECOGNIZE THAT THE ROLE WHICH OUR ORGANIZATION CAN AND SHOULD
PLAY CHANGES WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME AND THE RISE OF NEW
CIRCUMSTANCES. WE ARE THEREFORE PREPARED TO EXAMINE SUGGESTIONS
WHICH MEMBERS BELIEVE CAN CONTRIBUTE TO A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF
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THIS ISSUE.

ANY MEANINGFUL DISCUSSION OF THE KOREAN PROBLEM MUST BEGIN WITH THE CONSENSUS RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1973. THIS RESOLUTION CONTAINS THE PRINCIPLES WHICH THE TWO PARTS OF KOREA DECIDED SHOULD GOVERN THEIR RELATIONSHIP AND CONTAINS THE GOAL WHICH THIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY DECIDED SHOULD GVERN ITS OWN RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA. FOR ITS PART THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY STATED THE HOPE THAT THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH OF KOREA WOULD BE URGED TO CONTINUE THEIR DIALOGUE AND WIDEN THEIR MANY-SIDED EXCHANGES AND COOPERATION SO AS TO EXPEDITE THE INDEPENDENT PEACEFUL UNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY.

LAST YEAR, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE CONSENSUS I HAVE DESCRIBED, THE UNITED STATE SSUPPORTED A RESOLUTION WHICH ENDORSED THE CONSENSUS CALL FOR DIALOGUE AND MOVED TO THE LOGICAL NEXT STEP: AN EXAMINATION OF THOSE ASPECTS OF THE KOREAN QUESTION WHICH INVOLVE THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE PENINSULA, INCLUDING THE FUTURE OF THE UN COMMAND. THE RESOLUTION WHICH WAS ADOPTED PROPERLY POINTS OUT THAT THE UNITED NATIONS HAS A CONTINUING RESPONSIBILITY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF THE CHARTER REGARDING THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. THE RESOLUTION MADE CLEAR THE WILLINGNESS OF MY GOVERNMENT WHICH HAS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE UN COMMAND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION OF JULY 7, 1950 TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVES TO THE UN COMMAND, PROVIDED THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT WAS MAINTAINED.

IN THE INTERVENING PERIOD THERE WAS NO RESPONSE FROM THE OTHER PARTIES CONCERNED WHICH WOULD PERMIT CONSIDERATION OF THE PROPOSALS SET FORTH IN THAT RESOLUTION. MY GOVERNMENT THEREFORE, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND WITH OTHER INTERESTED GOVERNMENT, JOINED IN SPONSORING THE RESOLUTION SUBMITTED ON JUNE 27, 1975 WHICH IS NOW BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE. THAT RESOLUTION EXPLICITLY REAFFIRMS OUR WILLINGNESS TO TERMINATE THE UN COMMAND PROVIDED THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT IS MAINTAINED.

THE UN COMMAND TODAY IS COMPRISED OF THOSE MILITARY PERSONNEL DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE PERFORMANCE BY THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND OF ITS ARMISTICE AGREEMENT RESPONSIBILITIES AND INCLUDES LESS THAN UNCLASSIFIED

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300 NON-KOREAN PERSONNEL. MOST OF THESE ARE UNITED STATES MILITARY PERSONNEL ASSIGNED AS STAFF PERSONNEL TO THE COMMAND ITSELF AND THE REMAINDER ARE PART OF THE CEREMONIAL HONOR GUARD OF THE COMMAND. AMERICAN FORCES SERVING IN KOREA IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNITED STATES -- REPUBLIC OF KOREA MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY OF 1954 ARE NOT PART OF THE UN COMMAND. IN ORDER TO HELP MAKE THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE UN COMMAND AND THESE AMERICAN FORCES, THE USE OF THE UNITED NATIONS FLAG IN KOREA HAS BEEN LIMITED TO

THOSE MILITARY INSTALLATIONS IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA DIRECTLY ASSOCIATED WITH MAINTAINING THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. MY GOVERNMENT FORMALLY NOTIFIED THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL OF THIS IN MY LETTER OF SEPTEMBER 22.

MR. CHAIRMAN, IN CONSIDERING THE QUESTION OF TERMINATION OF THE UN COMMAND, THE CHIEF CONCERN OF MY GOVERNMENT IS THAT THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT WHICH HAS BEEN THE BASIS FOR PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA FOR OVER 20 YEARS BE MAINTAINED IN THE ABSENCE OF ALTERNATE LASTING ARRANGEMENTS BETWEEN THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH. I WISH TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT IS NOT MERELY A CEASEFIRE BUT A CAREFULLY DESIGNED STRUCTURE FOR MONITORING AND PLICING THE ARMISTICE ITSELF. IT REMAINS THE ONLY LEGAL BASIS FOR THE PRESENT CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA.

THE MILITARY ARMISTICE COMMISSION WHICH IS COMPOSED OF ALL PARTIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT IS THE ONLY ACCEPTED FORUM FOR REGULAR MEETINGS OF ALL THE PARTIES TO THE AGREEMENT. IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO CONSIDER THE ARMISTICE EITHER A RELIC OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE OR A FRAGILE INSTRUMENT OF LITTLE AUTHORITY. WHATEVER MAY BE ITS SHORTCOMINGS, IT CONTINUES TO BE OBSERVED AND TO FUNCTION.

THE OPPOSING RESOLUTION CALLS FOR TERMINATION OF THE UN COMMAND AND REPLACEMENT OF THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT BY A PEACE AGREEMENT. NOTHING IS SAID OF HOW THE MECHANISMS OF THE PEEACE AGREEMENT ARE TO FUNCTION AND WHAT IS TO ACT AS A RESTRAINT ON THE PARTIES IN THE INTERVAL WHILE THE PEACE AGREEMENT IS BEING DISCUSSED. THIS COULD TAKE A GOOD LONG TIME, WHEN ONE CONSIDERS THAT THE OTHER RESOLUTION CALLS FOR A "PEACE AGREEMENT" WITH THE UNITED STATES RATHER THAN WITH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA. THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT CONSIDER SITTING DOWN TO SUCH A NEGOTIATION
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WITHOUT THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA PRESENT. WHOEVER IS FAMILIAR WITH THE KOREAN PROBLEM KNOWS THAT A SITUATION IN WHICH THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT MACHINERY IS NOT FUNCTIONING AND WHERE THERE IS NO ASSURANCE THAT ANY OTHER AGREEMENT WOULD TAKE ITS PLACE IS A HIGHLY UNSTABLE ONE.

WE CANNOT ACCEPT THE VIEW THAT THE TERMINATION OF THE UN COMMAND WITHOUT PROVISION FOR THE CONTINUATION OF THE ARMISTICE WOULD HAVE LITTLE CONSEQUENCE FOR THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE PENINSULA. TO THE CONTRARY, THE ARMISTICE PROVIDES AN AGREED STARTING POINT FOR ANY DISCUSSION OF A MORE LASTING SETTLEMENT OF THE KOREAN ISSUE.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED.

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OUR RESOLUTION, A/C.1/L.708/REV.1, REFLECTS THE HELPFUL AMENDMENTS OFFERED BY THE DELEGATION OF FRANCE IN CONJUNCTION WITH DELEGATIONS OF BELGIUM, IRELAND, ITALY, LIBERIA, THE GAMBIA AND LUXEMBOURG AND NOW PROPOSES NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OTHER SIDE ON THE ISSUE OF THE UN COMMAND, REDUCTION OF TENSIONS AND ASSURANCE OF LASTING PEACE IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA.

SECRETARY KISSINGER IN HIS ADDRESS ON SEPTEMBER 22, CALLED SPECIFICALLY FOR THE CONVENING OF A CONFERENCE OF THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED: THE TWO KOREAN GOVERNMENTS, THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA. HE MADE CLEAR THAT HE WAS PROPOSING A CONFERENCE WHICH WOULD NOT ONLY DISCUSS MEANS FOR PRESERVING THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT WHILE TERMINATING THE UN COMMAND, BUT WHICH ALSO COULD EXPLORE "OTHER MEASURES TO REDUCE TENSION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF A LARGER CONFERENCE TO NEGOTIATE A MORE FUNDAMENTAL ARRANGEMENT."

IF THERE WERE TO BE A BROADER CONFERENCE ON MORE PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS, OUR VIEW IS THAT THE COMPOSITION OF SUCH A BROADER CONFERENCE SHOULD BE THE TOPIC OF DISCUSSION OF THE SMALLER CONFERENCE PROPOSED BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO INVOLVE THE FOUR PARTIES CONCERNED WITH THE ARMISTICE. WE OURSELVES WOULD HAVE AN OPEN MIND AS TO WHO MIGHT PARTICIPATE IN ANY SUCH BROADER CONFERENCE.

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THUS THE CONFERENCE OF THE FOUR PARTIES CONCERNED WITH THE ARMISTICE, SHOULD BE VIEWED NOT AS AN END-POINT BUT AS THE BEGINNING OF A PROCESS WHICH CAN LEAD TO A MORE LASTING SETTLEMENT. IT WOULD BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THIS ORGANIZATION AND THE VIEWS IT HAS EXPRESSED ON THE KOREAN QUESTION. THE NEGOTIATIONS CALLED FOR BY OUR RESOLUTION ARE, I MIGHT ADD, THE ONLY PROPOSAL NOW BEFORE THIS BODY THAT RECOGNIZES THAT IN MATTERS RELATING TO THE FUTURE OF KOREA AND TO SECURITY IN THE PENINSULA BOTH KOREAN GOVERNMENTS SHOULD BE INCLUDED. I SUBMIT, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT THIS RESOLUTION, BY CALLING FOR NEGOTIATIONS OF THIS KIND, PROVIDES A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION AND ACTION WHICH WILL ENHANCE THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND SECURITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA WHILE PRESERVING THE PRESENT ARMISTICE ARRANGEMENT WHICH REMAINS SO IMPORTANT.

IT MAY APPEAR THAT THE OTHER RESOLUTION BEFORE US HAS SOME SIMILAR PROVISIONS, BUT THIS APPEARANCE IS NOT BORNE OUT ON EXAMINATION. THE OTHER RESOLUTION IS NOT IN ACCORDANCE WITH PAST RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, SINCE IT DOES NOT ENCOURAGE DISCUSSIONS BY ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED WITH THE PROBLEM OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE PENINSULA. INDEED IT HAS THE CLEAR INTENTION TO EXCLUDE ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL PARTIES, THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, FROM ANY SUCH DISCUSSIONS. FOR OUR PART, WE WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY SUCH EXCLUSION OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA WHICH REPRESENTS OVER TWO-THIRDS OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE. INDEED, I WONDER HOW MANY MEMBERS OF THIS COMMITTEE WOULD SUPPORT A RESOLUTION WHICH DENIED THEM THE RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE DETERMINATION OF THEIR OWN FUTURE.

FUNDAMENTAL TO ALL I HAVE SAID AND TO ALL THAT THIS ORGANIZATION HAS RECOMMENDED IS THE ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENT THAT THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA BE ENCOURAGED TO RESUME. IT IS ONLY IN THAT CONTEXT THAT STEP BY STEP PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH THE MAJOR ISSUES DIVIDING THE TWO SIDES CAN BE MADE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LET ME TURN NOW TO A THIRD QUESTION -- ONE WHICH IS NOT DEALT WITH IN OUR RESOLUTION AND SHOULD NOT BE BEFORE THIS BODY - THE QUESTION OF UNITED STATES TROOPS IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA PURSUANT TO THE UNITED STATES-REPUBLIC OF KOREA MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY OF 1954 AND AT THE INVITATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

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OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA. THE OTHER RESOLUTION AND THE LETTER WHICH INTRODUCES IT MAKE CLEAR THAT THESE FORCES ARE THE FORCES WHICH IT WISHES WITHDRAWN FROM KOREA. IT PRESUMES TO MAKE THIS

A MATTER OF UNITED NATIONS BUSINESS BY REFERRING TO THEM AS FORCES UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS FLAG. THE FACT IS, AS I HAVE ALREADY STATED THAT, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THOSE LESS THAN 300 PERSONNEL IN THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND, THESE TROOPS ARE NOT UNDER THE UNITED NATIONS FLAG AND ARE NOT A MATTER OF UNITED NATIONS BUSINESS.

THE PRESENCE OF UNITED STATES TROOPS IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA WILL CONTINUE TO BE A MATTER BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA UNDER OUR MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY. THEY WILL REMAIN THERE AS LONG AS THEY ARE NEEDED AND AS LONG AS THEIR PRESENCE IS MUTUALLY DESIRED BY THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND THE UNITED STATES. MY GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS OUR MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY WITH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA A STABILIZING INFLUENCE IN THE PENINSULA. WE AND THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA HAVE PERIODICALLY REAFFIRMED OUR COMMITMENT TO THOSE PRINCIPLES. WE ASSUME THAT NORTH KOREA TAKES A SIMILAR VIEW OF ITS SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, ALTHOUGH THESE WERE NOT MENTIONED BY THE NORTH KOREANS IN THEIR SPEECH TO THE FIRST COMMITTEE.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I HAVE SPOKEN AT SOME LENGTH ON THE MATTER BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE. I HAVE DONE THIS BOTH TO EMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE MY GOVERNMENT ATTACHES TO THE PEACE AND SECURITY OF THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND TO MAKE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR OUR VIEWS ON THE ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. I TURN FINALLY TO THE PROSPECTS FOR A LASTING PEACE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA. FUNDAMENTAL TO ALL I HAVE SAID AND TO ALL THAT THIS ORGANIZATION HAS RECOMMENDED IS THE ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENT THAT THE DIALOGUE BETWEEN SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA BE ENCOURAGED TO RESUME. IT IS ONLY IN THAT CONTEXT THAT STEP BY STEP PROGRESS IN DEALING WITH THE MAJOR ISSUES DIVIDING THE TWO SIDES CAN BE MADE. NO ONE WHO IS FAMILIAR WITH THESE PROBLEMS CAN REALISTICALLY EXPECT THAT THEY CAN BE SOLVED QUICKLY OR EASILY. THERE IS A NEED FOR CAUTION BUT THERE IS NEED TO BREAK CONTINUED STALEMATE. IT APPEARS TO MY GOVERNMENT THAT THE UNITED NATIONS CAN CONTRIBUTE TO AN ATMOSPHERE CONDUCIVE TO REINITIATION OF MEANINGFUL DISCUSSIONS BY ENSURING THAT NO ACTION IS TAKEN WHICH WOULD CALL INTO DOUBT THE CONTINUING COMMITMENT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

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KOREAN PENINSULA.

THERE ARE POSITIVE STEPS WHICH CAN BE TAKEN. SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER SAID IN HIS SEPTEMBER 22 ADDRESS THAT, IF NORTH KOREA AND ITS ALLIES WOULD MOVE TO IMPROVE THEIR RELATION WITH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE SIMILAR RECIPROCAL ACTIONS. MY GOVERNMENT IS WILLING TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSION WITH ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED TO TERMINATE THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND WHILE PRESERVING THE ARMISTICE AND TO DISCUSS OTHER STEPS TO EASE TENSIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS CONSTRUCTIVE

APPROACH WILL ENJOY THE SUPPORT AND UNDERSTANDING OF MOST MEMBERS OF THIS ASSEMBLY. HOWEVER WE WILL NOT PLACE IN JEOPARDY THE FUTURE STABILITY OF THE PENINSULA BY AGREEING TO ACTIONS WHICH HAVE AS THEIR INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE AN INCREASE IN MILITARY TENSIONS AND UNCERTAINTY. THAT WOULD BE IRRESPONSIBLE AND DANGEROUS TO THE OBJECTIVES WHICH WE ALL ESPOUSE. I THEREFORE ASK THAT EACH MEMBER OF THIS COMMITTEE CAREFULLY CONSIDER THE CONSEQUENCES OF ITS VOTE ON T

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